DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 444 949 SP 039 400

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TITLE Challenging the Cultural "Taken-for-Grantedness" of Preservice Teacher Candidates in a Program of Urban Teacher Preparation: Implications for Education of Urban Teachers.

PUB DATE 2000-04-28

NOTE 35p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (New Orleans, LA, April 24-28, 2000).

PUB TYPE Reports - Research (143) -- Speeches/Meeting Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.

DESCRIPTORS *Attitude Change; *Cultural Differences; Cultural Influences; Elementary Secondary Education; Higher Education; Preservice Teacher Education; *Racial Attitudes; *Student Teacher Attitudes; Student Teachers; Urban Schools

ABSTRACT

This study investigated whether data collected from coursework and instructor evaluations of student teacher attitude change were adequate measures of change over a semester. Data analysis involved students enrolled in courses taught in fall 2000 at New Jersey City University. Teachers collected students' biographical data and written responses to a case study describing a student teacher's efforts to handle the isolation of three Latina students in her classroom. Students responded to the same case study at the beginning and end of the semester. After the second response, students reviewed their first response and wrote about their initial reactions so that researchers could assess metacognitive change. Course instructors collected data from student journals, papers, written assignments, and class discussions regarding students' attitudes and ideas about culture and race in schooling. Instructors presented their findings at two different intervals. A team analyzed trends and tendencies in development of student thinking across the program. Instructors' predictions of students who would be the most and least changed were confirmed by analyzing responses. Very few students demonstrated much change. Instructors had trouble matching case study responses to students in their courses. Predicting change based on biographical information was difficult. (SM)

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CHALLENGING THE CULTURAL 'TAKEN-FOR-GRANTEDNESS' OF PRESERVICE TEACHER CANDIDATES IN A PROGRAM OF URBAN TEACHER PREPARATION: IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION OF URBAN TEACHERS

Paper presented to the American Educational Research Association

New Orleans, April 2000

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ABSTRACT

The literature on teacher preparation contains anecdotal evidence about how teacher educators attempt to change student attitudes and schema, and how students respond to these efforts, but there have been few published accounts of attempts by programs of teacher preparation to assess how well course offerings are altering students' beliefs and then applying knowledge from this assessment to reform their own programs and course offerings. Reports of change in candidates' beliefs in the direction of greater insight about cultural diversity are often based on data instructors collect from class discussions and assignments, especially reflective journals. But to what extent can instructors' evaluations of their own students' work be treated as reliable? To what extent are classroom assignments in which students articulate their beliefs valid indicators of their thinking and attitudes?

This study scrutinizes the assumption that data collected from course work and instructor evaluations of change are adequate measures of change, an assumption that we have used in studies of our program. We examine the reliability of instructor assessments by comparing instructors' conclusions about change in students' attitudes and beliefs during the span of a semester with data about their beliefs collected and analyzed independently. The objective is two-fold: To develop a replicable format that can be used in other programs of teacher preparation to compare faculty perceptions of change in student beliefs to other measures of change; and to generate data that can be used to improve our own program's success in preparing urban teachers who can critique their "taken-for-granted" assumptions about culture and race so that they will successful with students who are culturally different from themselves.

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Increasingly, teacher educators and researchers concerned about the ability of teachers to work successfully with students who are "other people's children" (Delpit, 1995; Gomez, 1996) argue for teacher selection, as Valli notes (1995). Richardson (1996) observes that preservice teacher education may not be able to provide students with the time and opportunity needed to test and try new ideas about teaching and learning simply because of the developmental demands that are part of the process of learning to teach. If programs of preservice teacher education cannot sufficiently alter what Zimpher and Ashburn (Zimpher & Ashburn, 1992) refer to as the "parochialism" of most candidates, to enable them to work well with students who are culturally and linguistically different from themselves, then a strong case could be made for screening out candidates who do not come to their professional preparation with the beliefs, attitudes, and ideas they need to teach students who do not mirror their own demographic characteristics. The literature on teacher preparation contains anecdotal evidence about how teacher educators attempt to change student attitudes and schema, and how students respond to these efforts, but there have been few published accounts of attempts by programs of teacher preparation to assess how well course offerings are altering students' beliefs and then applying knowledge from this assessment to reform their own programs and course offerings. Reports of change in candidates' beliefs in the direction of greater insight about cultural diversity are often based on data instructors collect from class discussions and assignments, especially reflective journals. But to what extent can instructors' evaluations of their own students' work be treated as reliable? To what extent are classroom assignments in which students articulate their beliefs valid indicators of their thinking and attitudes?

This study scrutinizes the assumption that data collected from course work and instructor

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evaluations of change are adequate measures of change, an assumption that we have used in studies of our program (Heinemann, Obi, Pagano & Weiner, 1992). We examine the reliability of instructor assessments by comparing instructors' conclusions about change in students' attitudes and beliefs during the span of a semester with data about their beliefs collected and analyzed independently. The objective is two-fold: To develop a replicable format that can be used in other programs of teacher preparation to compare faculty perceptions of change in student beliefs to other measures of change; and to generate data that can be used to improve our own program's success in preparing urban teachers who can critique their "taken-for-granted" assumptions about culture and race so that they will successful with students who are culturally different from themselves.

We analyze data collected from students enrolled in courses taught in Fall 2000 in the Department of Administration, Curriculum, and Instruction at New Jersey City University. All students who successfully complete university-based courses and field experiences with at least a grade of B- will earn a certificate of advanced standing to teach in the state of New Jersey, once they have received a passing grade on the Praxis teaching exam. Our program is traditional is some respects, but it differs in important ways from teacher preparation elsewhere. For one, New Jersey City University has an explicitly stated urban mission, as does the program of teacher preparation. Enrollment in our program is based on self-selection, in contrast to the practice of using entrance criteria that include interviews. Furthermore, most programs of urban teacher preparation are based on "soft" money and are considered special units within larger programs with a generic focus (Haberman, 1996). The program described by Kile (Kile, et al., 1998) is typical of these targeted programs with entrance criteria. Our program's *generic* focus is urban but in being unscreened, the student population in this study may be more similar to the population of teacher candidates found in

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regular programs of teacher preparation than those who enroll in "special" units with screening procedures. Another aspect of our situation, discovered in a study we conducted about our students' motivations to teach, is that many of our students are probably more comfortable living in the city and being with people who are not like themselves than are traditional teacher candidates (Weiner, Obi, Pagano & Swearingen, 1993). We suggest that in their "taken-for-granted" assumptions about culture and diversity, our students have many similarities to the "parochial" teacher candidates that Zimpher and Ashburn (1992) describe, yet because of the University's urban misssion, locale, and diversity, our students are probably exposed to ideas and experiences that make them more conscious of the existence of other cultural frameworks than are other teacher candidates who fit the dominant profile of white, mono-lingual, young females raised in suburbs or small towns.

A valuable aspect of this study is that it is a self-study, undertaken to improve the program. Self-studies are usually undertaken because of accreditation, but standard measures used in the accreditation process do not influence program quality because accreditation pressures faculty to work to hide weaknesses (Haberman & Backus, 1987). This study pilots a procedure not linked to accreditation for faculty to use in assessing the change in their students' thinking about the role of race and culture and schooling, as well as the reliability of instructors' assessments of the change. The need for this study emerged from our previous analysis of state educational policy intended to improve urban schools on curriculum and instruction in our university's program of urban teacher preparation (Weiner, et al., 1999). One of our conclusions was that state initiatives have made the program's goal, of preparing urban teachers who have a sense of agency and can critically reflect on their own ideas, values, and beliefs, more difficult to achieve but even more essential. We concluded that we needed to look more closely at our students' thinking as well as their metacognitive

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strategies. Much research confirms that changing prospective teachers' attitudes is a slow process that is often not successful, especially not within the space of a single course (Valli, 1995); longer term interventions have proven more successful in helping prospective teachers critically analyze their own beliefs and thinking (Bullough & Stokes, 1994). Thus this study aimed to give us snapshots of what occurs in several courses, which might help us to identify the broad contours of change in students' thinking at different junctures in the program.

Another conclusion from the study examining effects of state policy on our program of teacher preparation was that finding time to conduct research on our program should be made a priority, for many reasons. Our practice models for our students the relationship they should have to scholarship. Another reason is that in conducting research we challenge the gendered hierarchy in knowledge production that places female teacher educators in teacher training institutions in the role of consumers of research generated by faculty in research universities. Our position as teacher educators who supervise students in field experiences and teach both undergraduate and graduate courses in programs of teacher preparation and administration and supervision provides us with rich and varied data about urban classrooms.

We focus on students' thinking about culture and cultural diversity because educating teachers who can work successfully with students in urban schools necessitates attention to teachers' attitudes about race and culture (Grant, 1994; Haberman, 1996). Although the ability to work successfully with a culturally diverse student population should be an expectation of all teacher candidates, urban teachers must be able especially capable of working well with students who are voluntary and involuntary minorities (Ogbu & Simons, 1998), who now comprise the majority of students in urban school systems (Council of the Great City Schools, 1995; Artiles, 1996). However,

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the life experiences and orienations of most teacher candidates make successful teaching of urban students problematic, to say the least, because they may be unable or unwilling to bridge the great social distance separating teachers and students (Gay, 1993). Another way of understanding what Zimpher and Ashburn refer to as "parochialism," is a "taken-for-grantedness" of cultural assumptions, a term we prefer because it is more neutral and describes behavior that can be situational. Even people who are cosmopolitan in their orientation may assume a stance of "taken-for-grantedness" in situations that mask other viewpoints. The idea that we all have "taken-for-granted" beliefs, the notion of tacit norms, is critical for urban teachers to understand because they will work with many students who do not share their beliefs and values. They must be able to recognize that their cultural framework is not the only one possible, and that schools are based on a white, middle-class cultural frame (Ogbu & Simons, 1998). As Metz notes, the tacit quality of culture gives it much of its force in schools. "Because its items are not discussed, they are not debated by either insiders or outsiders...differences...are seen in terms of specific issues and not in terms of differences over underlying assumptions" (1986, p. 55). Another factor that makes the ability to examine one's own "taken-for-grantedness" essential for urban teachers is that urban schools are insulated from community and parents, and in fact, were constructed to be so in order that politics would be taken out of education (Tyack, 1974; Weiner, 1999). Hence urban teachers must have the proclivity to see issues of learning and teaching from perspectives that are different from their own and are excluded from the culture and structure of the school.

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

The study was originally designed to assess student cognition and metacognition about the role of race and culture in schooling in different courses required for certification to teach. Our

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preliminary hypothesis was that course content would influence the extent to which and the ways in which students' thinking about race and culture in schooling would develop, although we made no suggestions about the particulars. We defined "change" as any movement in beliefs and thinking. All of the instructors involved in the research project share a common belief that racism is not only an individual phenomenon but is systemic in nature and should be understood as such. However, we defined "change" for the purposes of this study as "movement," either closer or farther away from our beliefs because we aim to compare our perceptions as instructors of change in students' beliefs and thinking to indicators of change elicited and assessed under more controlled circumstances.

In the original design, five courses, each taught by one of the investigators on the team, were identified for data collection. These courses spanned the undergraduate sequence and included educational psychology, methods, social foundations, and the seminar that accompanies student teaching. One graduate course, in social foundations in early childhood education, was included. All of the courses except for methods have field components in schools; educational psychology enrolls students in elementary, early childhood, and secondary (math, English, science, social studies) education; the other courses from which we collected data are for prospective teachers of young children.

The first part of the study as it was originally designed consisted of collecting students' written responses to a case study taken from a textbook co-authored by one of the investigators (Rand & Shelton-Colangelo, 1999). The case, (Appendix A), written by a student while in our program, describes her efforts as a student teacher to deal with the isolation of three Latina students in her classroom. The original design called for students in each course to be asked by an investigator, (not their instructor), to read the case and respond in writing. Students were also asked

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to answer ten questions to provide us with biographical information. In accordance with the procedures for experiments with human subjects at the university, students were given the option of not participating. They were informed that their instructor would not examine their papers until the course had ended and grades had been completed. In the twelfth session (of a 15 week semester), the researcher who administered the first data collection (not the instructor) was to once again ask students to read the same case study and to respond in writing. Students were then to be given their their first response to the case and asked to think and write about their initial reaction, so that we could assess metacognitive change.

During the term, the instructors of these five courses were to collect data consisting of student journals, papers, written assignments, and to the extent possible make notes about class discussions that related to students' attitudes, beliefs, and ideas about the role of culture and race in schooling. At the end of the term, the investigator was to review this data using any method she deemed appropriate and select the student most changed in his/her thinking about the role of culture and race in schooling, and the one whose ideas and beliefs had changed the least. We agreed that a shift in any direction, towards an acceptance of culturally-responsive pedagogy or away from it, would constitute development for the purposes of this study.

The design called for each instructor to present to the entire team her conclusions about which students had shown the most and the least change in thinking about the role of culture and race in schooling, based on her knowledge of the students' work in class or other factors in their lives, including maturational issues. Only after these presentations would the instructors examine the other set of data, the responses to the case study, and compare their initial assessment of student development to the responses to the case studies collected at the first and twelfth sessions of the

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course. We assumed that we would be able with little difficulty to match students to the case study response they had written, based in part on experience we have had in conducting research about our students' attitudes. Unlike our earlier research about students' attitudes, this study provided a second data set, intended to provide triangulation about the extent to which students' responses to the cases mirrored development (or lack of it) that the instructor hypothesized had occurred.

Using this second data set, each instructor/investigator was to scrutinize her original analysis of student development and again present her findings to the team. In this meeting the team was to analyze trends and tendencies in development of student thinking across the program, using the biographical data when appropriate. A member of the team who did not participate in data collection from her own class served as the principal investigator. She took responsibility for keeping minutes of meetings, noting changes to the protocol, assembling the other instructors' analyses of what had occurred with their students, summarizing the team's findings, and suggesting how the findings related to the literature on teacher thinking about culture and race in schooling and urban teacher preparation, as well as implications for teacher selection.

The original design was altered in several respects, because of nature, organizational demands of the program and personal circumstances of the investigators (Memo, 13 January, 2000). Delay in approval from the university's Institutional Review Board made it necessary for two participants to wait until the third session of the class to have students respond to the case study. A University closing due to severe rain storms delayed data collection beyond the twelfth week, as originally intended. Four courses were studied, not five, because one investigator had surgery. This person's role shifted to critiquing the preliminary draft. In addition, a sixth colleague joined the team. We decided to provide additional triangulation by having the principal investigator and the new team

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member analyze the responses to the case study. Because of glitches in data collection, students in two classes did not do the writing samples that were intended for use in assessing change in metacognition. Another alteration in protocol occurred when two instructors were compelled to self-administer the second writing sample. Two instructors had to change the courses they had targeted for the study. In both cases, however, they identified students who had changed most and least BEFORE reading responses to the case and before discussing findings with the person doing the triangulation. One instructor who self-administered the pre and post-writing on the case accidentally asked students to fill out biographical information in responding to the case the second time. This alteration in the protocol, as we discuss in the findings, produced an effect that raised interesting questions about the research design.

In our second meeting, when we analyzed what we had learned in comparing our initial assessments to data in the writing samples (Memo, Feb. 24, 2000), we noted several changes in the protocol. We decided to focus in this study on change detected in the first and second comments on the case study because we had a sufficiently rich data source from the collection of pre and post-course responses to the case study. Instructors reported on their findings, followed by a response by the team member doing triangulation. We agreed on three rubrics or criteria to describe the kinds of change that we detected in the responses to the case and decided to use a Likert-scale to quantify the change in students in each course. The chart recording this data is Appendix B. In this meeting, each instructor/investigator agreed to write a single page answer summarizing what she considered most salient in the study of her course. These statements comprise Appendix C.

Although several changes were made in implementation, the heart of the protocol was not breached: No instructor examined data from the responses to the case study until after identifying the

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students most and least changed, based on her assessment of the students' work in class. To maintain confidentiality of student work, student responses to the case remained "blind" to all investigators except the instructor of the course. Student responses to the case study were coded and biographical data were matched to the responses only after instructors had identified students whom they predicted would be among those demonstrating the least and most change.

FINDINGS

Perhaps the most important finding was that in each instance, instructors' predictions of the students who would be among those who changed the most and least were confirmed by analysis of responses to the cases and triangulation. The student they had predicted would show significant change did indeed demonstrate significant change. The student they predicted would demonstrate little change did demonstrate little change in thinking. As instructors it seems we can gauge significant change, or lack of it, in a student's beliefs about the role of culture in schooling.

However, each instructor expressed surprise at the difficulty of matching the case study responses to individuals in her course, although all but one of the courses had small samples, under 12. Even when the response to the case study was rather extensive, and even when it contained references to the student's life experience, matching responses to authors was problematic. Instructors agreed that they while they were able to predict in *gross* terms the *degree* of change ("a great deal of change," "some change" "little or no change"), and whether the change was in the *direction* of acquiring a broader and deeper understanding of how race and culture can influence schooling, they were unable to predict with any specificity the *nature* of the change that occurred.

We purposely did not generate preliminary criteria for assessing change or a unitary method ...g the responses to the case, preferring instead to allow criteria to emerge from the coding

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from instructors and faculty doing the second analysis. Three areas of change in students' beliefs and thinking about race and culture in schooling emerged for all of us in our examination of responses to the case study:

Category A:

Students changed in the extent to which they were able to identify multiple perspectives on the situation described in the case: that of the student teacher; three Latina girls who felt that they had been isolated and stigmatized; the other students in the class; the school as a whole; society.

Category B:

Students changed in their perceptions of socio-cultural factors that should be considered by teachers when dealing with cultural conflict, for instance the effects of prejudice on students' academic learning, or the influence of school organization in encouraging the isolation of students from groups that are subject to discrimination.

Category C:

Students changed in their application of specific teaching strategies that could be used to address cultural conflict and prejudice in classrooms. They may have used more technical vocabulary or made explicit suggestions for the teacher's intervention, such as developing lesson plans that addressed cultural diversity or using cooperative learning.

In the analysis of responses to the case study we found that very few students demonstrated a great deal of change. Most demonstrated some change, and some demonstrated change in more than one area, but a significant number of students demonstrated little or no change. We noted only one case in which change occurred in a direction that was away from our program's intent to prepare students who understand the value of culturally responsive teaching strategies. Although all courses

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addressed different content, the most change occurred in the third area, (Category C), in each of the courses. The nature of the technical skill that was developed varied from course to course, (e.g. in educational psychology changes in application of technical vocabulary and suggested interventions took the form of attention to psycho-social relationships; in methods courses, reference was made to use of cooperative learning). Change primarily took the form of development of technical skill, regardless of the course or its situation in the sequence of teacher preparation.

The samples are so small we do not think any generalizable conclusions can be drawn. However, we noted in our second meeting when we reviewed the results of our analyses that predicting change on the basis of biographical information was quite problematic. In several instances the student showing the most change and the least change both fit the profile of the traditional teacher candidates. It is, however, interesting to note what occurs when the categories of race and ethnicity are collapsed so that when the results from candidates who are both voluntary and involuntary minorities are placed together and compared to those of candidates who self-identified as European American or white. Only two of twelve changes occuring in responses of students self-identifying as white or European American turn up in categories A and B, while eight out of twelve changes in responses of students who are minority are in categories A and B. This suggests that, as a group, European American students are less likely to change in categories A and B than are minority students, a phenemonon that has been identified in other research.

However, another provocative finding is that one of the students showing little or no change was an African-American student who described herself as having attended an integrated school in the city. She stated in both responses that she believed that prejudice would always exist and that this situation would never change. What is especially striking about her work is that her first response

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incorrectly identified the three girls who were subjected to prejudice as African American, although the case clearly identifies them as Latinas, and her second response does not correct this error. Perhaps this student identifies the concept of prejudice so completely with racism directed against African Americans that she has difficulty seeing that prejudice takes other forms, and that prejudice may, as it was in the case, be directed against students whose first language is not English.

One student who was asked to complete the biographical data a second time, when completing the post-course response to the case study, reacted quite dramatically to the request, as described in the statement by her instructor (Appendix C - Educational Psychology). Our initial explanation was that this incident demonstrated the Hawthorne effect. Another explanation might be a matter of classical conditioning. Filling out a form, which for all other students did not evoke any emotional reactions, for this student brought back some painful memories of school years. She has learned to respond to "self-identification" because of her prior history and experience. Still, the fact that a few other students in this sample changed the way they identified their ethnicity when they responded a second time to the case suggests that conditioning may be part of the answer but that the request to identify onesself is not as straightforward as it may seem and may, in fact, influence a student's subsequent response.

DISCUSSION

One limitation of our study is that our findings differentiate the courses by their content and that teaching content and methodologies are self-reported by instructors. Although our program of teacher preparation is based on the notion of the reflective urban practitioner, and we articulate a commitment to constructivist pedagogy, we know from research on elementary classrooms that self-reports of practice are not necessarily reliable (Antil & Jenkins, 1998). Hence we cannot draw

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conclusions about the relationship between changes in student attitudes and specific course content and instructional methodologies. However, our study seems to confirm the difficulty other teacher educators have reported of changing student attitudes and beliefs about race and culture. Further, our study suggests that changing student attitudes is difficult because there seems to be no direct correlation between, on the one hand, the self-reported content and teaching methodology in a course, and on the other hand, the change that occurs in students' thinking about cultural diversity. That phenemonon is shown most clearly in the data from the instructor who taught social foundations, a course that stressed the role of culture in learning and the educational implications of race and racism. Yet students' responses to the case in this course showed no greater change in development of their ability to examine issues of culture and learning from multiple perspectives, or as influenced by factors in the school and society, than did responses of students in other courses.

Change in students' thinking about culture's influences in schooling is not global, as the three categories of change that emerged from our analysis indicate. Students may alter their perceptions of the teacher's responsibilities to intervene when an evidence of bigotry arises but may, simultaneously, hold onto perceptions that the problem is isolated, unconnected to political events or school organization. They may learn instructional strategies and become familiar with materials that are aimed at making the classroom and learning more accessible to students who are members of minorities, but their ability to see that they have "taken-for-granted" assumptions may not change. Indeed, acquisition of knowledge about teaching may, at least temporarily, *reinforce* the perception that the only viewpoint about schooling that counts is the one from behind the teacher's desk. The fact that students in the internship seminar, the final course in the education sequence, changed primarily in the third category was, we suggest, predictable. During student teaching, candidates

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become socialized to the school and the profession. They begin to feel and act like real teachers, and their "unrealistic optimism" about what they can accomplish is shattered (Weinstein, 1989). Their situation as student teachers may demand a focus on technical factors, as Featherstone's research with first-year teachers and Richardson's work with practicing teachers suggest (Featherstone, 1993; Richardson, 1996). But predominance of change in the area of technical considerations is also troubling because it suggests the possibility that students may not be capable of change during student teaching in the extent to which they can critique their own "taken-for-granted" notions. Indeed, Richardson (Richardson, 1996) argues that practicing teachers' beliefs and practices may be more readily changed than those of preservice candidates. Preservice candidates may need to acquire a greater degree of technical mastery before they can tie their beliefs to practice. The preponderance of change in the area of technique that our study uncovered may illustrate preservice candidates' efforts to understand culture and race through the slowly developing lens provided by a new occupational identity.

The importance of uncovering and scrutinizing teacher beliefs is shown both by the student who became agitated at being asked to self-identify her ethnicity a second time and by the African American student who misidentified the Latina students as African American. In both instances students' prior beliefs seem to have been so poweful that no change could occur in the direction of seeing different points of view about culture and race as they influence schooling. The examples of these two students seems tocall into question the effectiveness of pressing preservice students to find their own identity, as a means of having them understand issues of teaching a culturally diverse student population (Hollins, 1996). For these two students, a strong sense of identity seems to be a barrier to seeing other perspectives. They do not seem to need any further development of a sense of

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their own identities as "raced" people but instead require the ability to understand the fluidity of these categories, the interplay between one's self-identification and pressures exerted by external and often, involuntary, identification. Similarly, the finding when we compare change in students who self-identify as European American and white/ or not indicates to us that as a group, European American teacher candidates require teaching strategies to be able to critique their "taken-for-granted" assumptions about cultural conflict. As a group, students need a greater understanding that race and ethnicity are both social constructions that are historically and politically grounded, that they are both willed and unwilled as sources of identity (Singer, 1998).

IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHER PREPARATION

Our findings replicate those of other teacher educators who have found that changing student beliefs about culture and race is painstaking (Winitzky & Barlow, 1998). We suggest that our study advances the goal of preparing urban teachers who are able to teach a culturally diverse student population in a few key areas. First, our study makes highly problematic the common practice of using data collected during course work as documentation of change. The difficulty that instructors had in matching responses to the case study to identities of students enrolled in semester-long courses suggests that studies in which teacher educators examine student work and conclude from it that significant change of a certain sort has (or has not) occurred in student attitudes and thinking is suspect. The certainty with which we claim to have produced change in students' beliefs, or failed to do so, based on students' course work or comments in interviews conducted by instructors should be tempered by the realization that more scientific assessment is essential. While instructor judgments and student assignments can provide a general indication of growth towards the norms that teacher education faculty encourage, these sources of data are not adequate to pinpoint the nature of change

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in preservice candidates' beliefs. We can, however, predict with considerable accuracy, which students have shown a great deal of change or very little.

The predominance of change in acquisition of technical skill in all of the courses suggests that even when instructors attempt to address attitudes and beliefs, many students' make sense of this material in terms of technical skills, perhaps because of their developmental needs as learners as well as their prior beliefs. We are probably seeing here another indication of the power of schema that all learners bring to educational tasks (Putnam & Borko, 1997). Believing that teaching consists of acquiring mastery of techniques, prospective teachers incorporate knowledge that contradicts their schema by altering its meaning (Holt-Reynolds, 1995). It may be that development of technical skill and vocabulary are a necessary but insufficient condition for many preservice candidates to learn how to work well with a culturally diverse student population, because the learning about themselves that they acquire in their first experiences as teachers opens the door to critique of other "taken-for-granted" assumptions. Some of the change in practice probably has to occur after students have acquired a strong sense of identity as teachers and mastery of instructional procedures.

Our study confirms value of research on teacher thinking, showing how difficult it is to predict either the nature of or amount of change that occurs in attitudes and thinking about race and culture. By clarifying three different types of change in our students' thinking about culture and race in schooling, we have more clearly pinpointed goals for instruction in our courses. It may be that each of these categories should be stressed in different courses, depending on the nature of the content and its position in the sequence. As Putnam and Borko note, there "are different ways to situate learning, each suited particularly well to different components of teacher learning" (1997, p. 1284). Our study confirms the conclusion that changing beliefs is slow and labor-intensive and must

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be the focus of the entire program (Tellez, Hlebowitsh & Norwood, 1995). The fact that our student population is diverse provides us with the opportunity in our courses to exploit the personal connections with classmates who had different life experiences of culture, race, or language that were "powerfully educative" in the work of other teacher educators (Winitzky & Barlow, 1998, p. 19).

The protocol that we have used provides an efficient method for teacher education faculty that are concerned about the extent to which their preservice candidates have changed in their "taken-for-granted" assumptions about race and culture in schooling. As has been the case for our department, the process itself can focus teacher educators within a program or department on the goal of preparing teachers who are better prepared to teach a culturally diverse student population. Now that we have clarified the areas of change that occur, we intend to discuss how to encourage candidates' development in areas other than technical skill.

Our inability to predict with any precision the amount and nature of change in any student's beliefs suggests to us that the process of selecting teacher candidates who will be able to work with a culturally diverse student population may not be as straightforward as it has been portrayed (Larkin, 1995; Chance, Smith, Rakes, Ross & Giannangelo, 1995). As we noted in the situation with the student who identified as African Ameican the three Latinas who were victims of prejudice, candidates may understand the pervasiveness of racism in American society, and they may be able to critique the white cultural model of the school, but they may not be able to see classrooms from the perspectives of students whose "taken-for-granted" assumptions differ from their own. Understanding the power of tacit knowledge and applying this understanding to issues of teaching, may, in fact, be the most difficult and the most important task of teacher educators committed to

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preparing urban teachers who can work well with students and parents who bring diverse and conflicting values and beliefs to school.

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APPENDIX A

THE CASE STUDY

CASE 33

Them and Us

I began my student teaching in a suburban high school with a reputation of being one of the best in the area. The school, housed in a spacious, modern building, was renowned for its sophisticated computer labs and other high-tech equipment as well as its strong teaching staff and bright, motivated student body.

I had looked forward to teaching for a long time, and at last the moment had arrived. I was pleasantly surprised to find that this was a job that I could do well. During my first week at the school, however, I realized that I was facing a problem. I noticed that some of the students were isolating themselves from the rest of the class.

I first noticed that three of the students—Carmen, Mayra, and Lucy—sat together in a tight little bunch for every class. I neither heard these group members speak to other students nor heard other students speak to them. The class environment was made up of six round tables, each with six chairs. This setting was aimed at facilitating group interaction, and usually the group work seemed to go smoothly. But I was worried about what was happening with the group of three. When I called their separation to the attention of my cooperating teacher, Ms. Jones simply stated that the three were new to the school this semester.

While reflecting on this situation at home, I came up with what I hoped was a solution. The next day, I discussed with Ms. Jones the plan I had mapped out to try to encourage the three students to sit with the others. "When the fourth-period algebra class meets, I would like to have the chairs around five of the six tables," I said. "That way, they'll have to sit with the other students in the class." Ms. Jones concurred that this could be a good way to get the three young women to interact with the rest of the class.

All morning long, I looked forward to this class to see what would happen. When the moment arrived, the tables were set up as planned. As the students filed into the class, they took seats without comment about the changed arrangement. The three newcomers, however, gathered together, then took chairs from the other tables and proceeded to sit at the sixth table, the three of them alone.

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My spirits dropped as I gazed at the three, whispering together, their heads almost touching. How could I get them to interact with the others? Why were they so shy? This was my first real problem as a student teacher, and I had no idea how to solve it.

After class, I commented to Ms. Jones, "Did you see how they went out of their way to sit alone again, even after having had no chairs at the one table? I really don't know what to do now to break up this bunch."

"They do seem determined not to sit with the other students," Ms. Jones commented. After a moment's thought, she added, "Tomorrow during class, we can try one of the exercises I have in mind. It will have them separate, and each one will go to a different table to be seated with the other students."

I thbught to myself, "This will be a challenge."

The next day, the students arrived for their algebra class, and the three girls again chose to sit together without so much as a nod at anyone else. Ms. Jones began giving out worksheets and instructions for completing them. The students were advised that as a group at each table, they should work together on the sheets and be sure everyone in the group understood the problems. Each table was given a different set of problems to work on. When the students were finished with the worksheets, Ms. Jones advised them that they would go to different tables now and be the experts on the worksheets that they had completed.

The three students that had not separated in prior classes were now going to be separated and have to interact with the other students in the class. Looks of concern came over their faces. I reinforced Ms. Jones's instructions and advised them that they were to teach the other students what they had learned from their worksheet. They were going to be the experts, the teachers. The students followed the directions reluctantly. I noticed that Carmen kept looking at Ms. Jones with an appeal in her eyes.

Once the experts began sharing, I saw that the other students were not listening to the three girls. All three had sullen expressions on their faces and seemed to make their contributions as brief as possible, especially compared to the contributions of the others in the class. I knew that the problem was not solved.

After class, I was not surprised to see that the three students remained to speak with me. After a moment's awkward silence, Carmen began, "We don't like to go to different tables. It makes us uncomfortable. We want to stay together." At this, Mayra and Lucy vigorously nodded.

I responded, "But if you stay at the same table, you're not going to get to know the other students in the class."

"The other students here don't want us in this school," Mayra said.

When I asked Mayra what she meant, Carmen answered, "They call us names and make fun of us because we are Latinas. Then we call them JAPs [Jewish-American princesses], and they get mad at us. This goes on in the corridors and also in the cafeteria."

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APPENDIX B

CHART OF CHANGE IN ATTITUDES

Course:	N	Cat. A	Cat. B	Cat.C
Focus Class -Semester 2	11	2	0	3
Math Workshop - Semester 3	9	1	4	7
Internship Seminar - Semester 4	10	1	0	6
Grad Cert Course	9	1	1	6
Total	39	6	5	22

Category A: number of students who showed a change in taking more than one perspective in responding to the case: teacher, Latina students, other students in the class.

Category B: number of students who showed a change in seeing this case as demonstrating a problem that involved not only the classroom, but also the school, the parents, or the community.

Category C: number of students who showed an increase in the number of teaching techniques or technical skills suggested.

Ethnicity/Race	N	Persp	Tech	Level
European American or White	16	1	10	1
Hispanic	12	1	3	2
African American or Black	5		4	2
Asian American or Asian	2		2	1
Not Indicated	4	1	3	1

The student I predicted would show the most change was a white female who at the time of this course was placed in an early childhood setting in a hospital for her second field experience. Some of the children came from middle to upper middle-class parents in this placement. She was pleased with her placement and shared compliments about her cooperating teacher. I selected this student because of her reaction to part of the questionnaire about biographical data that asked respondents to identify their ethnicity. She reacted quite emotionally and explained her agitation at having to identify her RACE! This visible emotional reaction led me to have a conversation with her afterwards. During this conversation she revealed her distaste for "self identification" because she felt deeply and expressed vehemently that race does not matter. She invited me to guess her ethnicity and said that the question evoked her horrible public school experience about IDENTIFICATION. For her race is a non-issue that adults, researchers, and educators continue to perpetuate. To her, there will always be individual differences, and too much is being made of ethnic difference. It is those who raise the issue of culture and race who are to blame for all the problems they cause and for perpetuating these concepts under discussion.

This student's first response to the case contained only the biographical data and no discussion of the case itself. The second time, she provided the biographical data and wrote a response, identifying the problem as societal. A white male, placed in a mostly white surburban school for his junior internship, as well as, concurrently enrolled in a methods course where this same case was administered for this same study, was identified as showing little change. His response to the case in both instances was to comment that "kids are cruel, " both times. The only change in the second response was to note that teachers should be sensitive to students' needs.

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STUDENT TEACHING INTERNSHIP SEMINAR

The largest group of student teachers in this diverse seminar class self- identified themselves as Latino. The remainder were Caucasion, African American, and Asian American. Approximately one third of the student teachers stated that their opinions had not changed since the initial responses in September. However, I noted changes in their responses with the exception of one student.

Initially, they responded as lay observers who relied heavily on their own personal experiences for their opinions. At the end of the semester, as I had anticipated, students took a teacher's perspective. They viewed the classroom situation as being modified and controlled by the teacher and suggested teaching and classroom management strategies. Their choice of language was somewhat more professional. Students viewed the teacher's role as that of a problem solver who could positively impact situations of this sort. However, they considered it quite a challenge.

In addition, students tended to be more judgemental during the initial writing and concerned with placing blame on various parties. It was evident in the subsequent sample that students focused more on problem solving and less on placing blame on individuals in the classroom. Students who attended parochial schools when they were young tended to view the teacher as more authoritarian, as one who has the responsibility to stop behavior. One implication for teacher preparation might be inclusion of project based assignments students could work collaboratively on via the internet where the students would not be identified by name and ethnically or culturally. Since many students expressed the need to include multicultural curriculum in their teaching suggestions, a greater focus on this may be appropriate in teacher preparation programs.

MATH METHODS WORKSHOP

Before reading student papers, I expected students to present idealistic views of "everyone getting along," that they would not confront the problem of racism head nor have concrete suggestions for remedies. I expected no one to address conflict across cultures as a systemic problem. I expected one student, a female who was a bit older than the traditional undergraduate, to be an exception. She also regularly engaged in reflection upon both course content and methodology. She asked pointed questions and sought help from me outside of the class meetings with the express purpose of extending her understanding in math. This is the student I predicted would have the greatest change in her thinking: I expected her reflection about the math content to be characteristic of her approach to other matters such as that presented in the case study.

In general, students did not see or discuss issues of race and culture from a broad, systemic perspective, and a few students blamed parents directly for the children's attitudes and behavior. The student whom I predicted would change most did, indeed, mention the need for long-range, school-wide solutions. But she was not the only student to suggest a broad approach. I was surprised, at first, that students did propose "curricular" solutions--lessons which would address issues of difference and tolerance teaching strategies to remedy the situation. But upon reflection on my part, I realize this makes sense since curriculum is a major focus of teacher preparation, especially in methods courses. I realized that my own teaching about math does not incorporate multiculturalism as much and as directly as it might, and I could include more texts and activities that directly focus on contributions in math of African and Asian cultures in addition to European contributions. The one session I present on games from other cultures may be insufficient to give students a "multicultural sensibility."

I chose Sharon, a young white women of European descent with very blonde hair and fair skin, as the student who changed the most. Sharon is. She did a class presentation on prejudice, having us act out two groups, one of preferred status and another of lower status, serving as the judge, dispensing rewards and praise to one group while treating the other miserably. From this experience the class was able to discuss their own feelings and real life experiences. Sharon also chose to read Vivian Paley's White Teacher as part of the requirements to choose any book. During class discussions she was often honest and upfront about her own white identity and her own perspectives not being the only possible ones or perhaps the best ones. I selected Tanya as one who showed the least change. Tanya is also white, in her mid twenties with blonde hair and fair skin. In class she frequently mentioned as models of good teaching activities that I deemed culturally insensitive. She became very frustrated during a discussion of activities about Native Americans I considered typically stereotypical, lamenting she just "didn't see what was wrong with it." For her book, she chose one on portfolio assessment and never addressed issues of multicultural, racial, gender, socioeconomic status, language, or sexual orientation I had introduced.

To my surprise, I had difficulty matching student responses to the cases to the authors and had to use demographic data to determine whose paper I was reading. Their responses clearly contained information I did not see in class work. Sharon was indeed one of the students that showed some growth in cultural sensitivity but not the student that showed the most. Similarly, Tanya was one of the students rated as not having shown growth, but others seemed to show less growth and even regression.